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matic form that led toward the opera was the masque" and the reviewer's own researches oblige him to disagree with the author's underestimation of the English ballad-operas, not as an inferior art-form but as a means of fostering genuine *English* opera. On page 258 the unreserved statement that in Bach's cantatas "the recitatives and arias are of operatic origin", attracts attention. It is therefore not surprising to find that the treatment of early chamber-music, vocal and instrumental, is decidedly less careful and scholarly than that of opera which perhaps receives too much credit in matters of general musical evolution (compare section 134).

One of the features of the book is the effort to keep before the reader's mind the political and social history of each period, thus laying emphasis on the obvious fact, once so foolishly denied by Justus von Liebig, that art is an *essential* factor of civilization. As this method of procedure is quite in keeping with the author's well-known philosophy of art, it is disappointing that he has allowed but scanty space to "musikalische Länderkunde". On pp. 648-650 this branch of musical history is briefly but refreshingly considered for the latter nineteenth-century music in America, and similar though shorter paragraphs may be found in the book but they are too few to convince general historical students (p. 18, introduction) that they have much overlooked the general history of music and too few to show "how musical life has been interlocked with literature and the other fine arts and with the advance of social life in general".

Undoubtedly the book becomes unbalanced towards the end. For instance César Franck has to content himself with one line (p. 585) whereas Karl Reinecke (p. 528) gets twenty! Indeed the space allowed German composers of recent date is clearly out of proportion to their merits *versus* the representatives of "nationalism in music" in other countries. One need but read the paragraphs on recent Scandinavian music (pp. 644-645) to feel that the author is not quite sure of his ground. However, such defects are relatively few in Professor Pratt's work. They can easily be modified and corrected in later editions and do not very perceptibly diminish the value of this very handy and remarkable book.

O. G. SONNECK.

The Greatness and Decline of Rome. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO.
Translated by ALFRED E. ZIMMERN, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of
New College, Oxford. Vol. I. *The Empire Builders.* Vol. II.
Julius Caesar. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London:
William Heinemann. 1907. Pp. viii, 328; vi, 389.)

"THESE two volumes contain a history of the age of Caesar, from the death of Sulla to the Ides of March. They cover the critical years in which Roman imperialism definitely asserted its sway over the civi-

lized world." "Prefixed to the work are five introductory chapters giving a somewhat lengthy summary of Roman history down to the moment when the detailed narrative begins." "My intention is to continue the narrative, in succeeding volumes, down to the break-up of the Empire."

The first two volumes appeared in the original in 1902. The title of the first—and there is much in Ferrero's titles—was *La Conquista dell' Impero*. Vol. III., *Da Cesare ad Augusto*, appeared in 1904; vol. IV., *La Repubblica di Augusto*, in 1906; and vol. V., *Augusto e il Grande Impero*, in 1907. The writer, only thirty-six years old, leaped at once into extraordinary fame and popularity, especially in Italy and France. The world had long been ready for a new version of the story of Julius Caesar which should correct or modify, giving its authorities for so doing, the extravagant estimates of Mommsen. Here was such a version, appealing to the popular taste with its cult of materialism, fatalism and socialism, written in a brilliantly sensational style, abounding in startling modern parallels and seemingly profound psychological analyses, "a psychological and artistic history, in which the passions of men are analyzed", in contrast with "the critical and scientific history of certain pedants". But in it the pendulum has swung violently to the other extreme, and the work of the trained and scientific historian in ascertaining the actual facts is largely replaced by fascinating deductions from imperfectly ascertained facts, or from assumptions based on the unquestioning application to the past of modern economical, sociological, or psychological principles.

Ferrero is a pupil of Lombroso, with whom he collaborated in a remarkable work on criminology, and his independent work, before he turned his attention to ancient history, was along the lines of anthropology, sociology, psychology and economics. Special and technical training as a historian he never had, although his critics from among the guild of historians admit that his handling of ancient authorities improves from volume to volume. *Historicus crescit eundo*. Still, to the guild, he is an "improvised historian, though a publicist of talent", or a "dilettante". Like the lamented De Amicis, Ferrero is a socialist by conviction, though an aristocrat by birth, and he has suffered exile for his convictions. The worst that his critics can say of him is that, having made an intensive study of modern European society from the standpoint of materialistic socialism, and having deduced therefrom a system of belief, he now tries to find in the facts of ancient Roman history an exemplification of that system. "I hope that my book has enabled me to demonstrate that the Roman world-conquest, one of those amazing spectacles in history which, seen from a distance, seem to defy both comparison and explanation, was in reality the effect of an internal transformation which is continually being re-enacted in the history of societies on a larger or a smaller scale, promoted by the same causes and with the same resultant confusion and suffering—the

growth of a nationalist and industrial democracy on the ruins of agricultural aristocracies."

In this tremendous transformation from a military and agricultural aristocracy to an industrial democracy, society is subject to the action of unknown and mysterious forces, according to Ferrero. Great men are merely the puppets of destiny, and destiny is the unforeseen precipitation of events by hidden forces. Even change is elevated into law. "No influence in human affairs makes permanently or uniformly for good or for evil. It was in obedience to this law of constant change—a law which seems to be the one constant element in human society and history—that, towards the middle of the third century, through the increase of wealth and the continuance of victory, this spirit of discipline and rural simplicity began to show symptoms of decline." The democracy first became greedily aggressive in the conquest of the Po valley; the Second Punic War hastened the advent of the commercial era. Eastern conquests, in which the desire for "loot" was thinly disguised under pleas of self-defense and the liberation of friendly peoples, brought fresh wealth to be fought for by the rich who were becoming richer and the poor who were becoming poorer. Caius Gracchus, "one of the four founders of the Roman Empire, and perhaps the most far-seeing statesman Rome ever produced", sought to include the entire population of the Peninsula in the enjoyment of the benefits and responsibilities of world empire, and was slain by the aristocrats who could not relinquish what they deemed their prerogatives. Marius brought the proletariat of Rome into bloody possession of imperial "loot", and Sulla restored the old possessors and the old order. But "order, even in the best organized State, is only a smooth and specious fiction in the place of justice and wisdom." The equilibrium between wealth and poverty which had been established by the great revolution and its massacres, was in its nature only temporary. Before the next great upheaval of the soil by the ploughshare of revolution, Lucullus, that "Napoleon of the last century of the Republic", had inaugurated the policy of the personal initiative of the provincial general, had "substituted war for negotiation" in dealing with foreign peoples, and so had marked out and sown the field in which Pompey and Caesar, his two great pupils, were to reap, in unconscious preparation for the second bloody struggle between wealth and poverty.

In depicting this second struggle Ferrero corrects to our satisfaction the depreciatory estimates of Pompey and Cicero which became the vogue with Mommsen, but attacks what he calls the "fanatical" admiration of Mommsen for Caesar with an impetus which carries him far beyond the bounds of historical safety in the opposite direction. The one redeeming thread of loyal consistency which runs through Caesar's checkered career, *viz.*, his devotion to the ideas of Caius Gracchus and Caius Marius in an attempt to form and lead a national democracy, is now ignored, in defiance of the clear evidence for it,

to strengthen a startling psychological analysis (I. 327), and now emphasized in an eloquent eulogy of his moderation at the opening of the civil war (II. 192). Caesar is a brilliant and unscrupulous opportunist, the psychological puzzle of his age. "It seems as though he were perpetually oscillating between opposite extremes, between an excess of temerity and an excess of caution. No sooner had he permitted some gust of passion or foolhardy caprice to carry him into a position of real danger than he turned back, no matter how successful his attempt, and relapsed into a prudence that bordered on timidity—only to break out again into all his old daring at the first suitable provocation."

Caesar's conquest of Gaul is represented as his lucky extrication of himself from a series of lamentable blunders, and yet it is admitted that he showed himself an incomparable leader, and created for himself a matchless army. His *De Bello Gallico* was an apologetic popular work, written with consummate art to delude a credulous public, and yet "at the decisive moment in the history of Europe, he and his men had drawn events into a course which their successors would for centuries be unable to deflect", and at this moment, after many Protean changes, his last transformation was into "a new and unexpected character—that of the moderate and exemplary citizen, disposed to every reasonable concession and solely desirous of the public good". But "Fate was dragging both sides remorselessly into civil war", and "though he had originally entered upon the war not out of lust for the supreme power, but to win a secure and honorable position in the aristocratic republic", he came out of it the victim of new ambitions that were forced upon him by his very successes. "He was the prisoner of his own victory." He must keep his promises to his soldiers and the multitude, and must therefore have supreme power. To maintain this supreme power fresh conquests were necessary, and therefore the Parthian campaign dominates his later plans, according to Ferrero, although the evidence is of the slightest that Caesar ever seriously thought of this campaign. But the tremendous drain upon his vitality which his superhuman activity had by this time made, left him exhausted, irritable and vacillating. He toyed with the idea of an open kingship, and so drove the right wing of his party into the arms of the surviving conservatives, who "banded themselves together against the Asiatic and revolutionary monarchy which they saw looming in the East, between the folds of Caesar's conquering banners". "But the modern observer has no excuse for regarding the plot to which Caesar fell a victim as an unlucky misadventure, due to the weakness or the wickedness of a few isolated individuals. The very opposite is the truth." The object of the conspiracy was to hinder the Parthian expedition!

"There were three great political objects for which Caesar fought during his career: the reconstruction of the Constitutional Democratic party in 59; a bold adoption and extension of the Imperialism of Lucullus in 56; and the regeneration of the Roman world by the conquest of

Parthia after the death of Pompey. The first and second of these ideas were taken up too late: the third was inherently impossible. . . . Caesar was not a great statesman; but he was a great destroyer. In him were personified all the revolutionary forces, the magnificent but devastating forces, of a mercantile age in conflict with the traditions of an old-world society." So Ferrero, in a work of great eloquence and rhetorical power, which is already widely and is sure to be much more widely read. The trained and conventional historian has much to learn from the work in the art of making ancient history alive again for us; but Ferrero has also much to learn from the trained and conventional historian in the scientific handling of authorities, the avoidance of rhetorical contradictions and exaggerations, the subjection of theory to fact.

Caesar had three great ideas: the reconstitution of the national democracy in 59; the application to the North, that teeming source of peril to the Italian peninsula, of the imperialism of Lucullus in the East; and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. In the third alone was he unsuccessful, and here only partially, since Augustus built on the broad foundations which he had laid. Caesar was, it is true, a destroyer of the Old, but he was also a founder of the New.

B. PERRIN.

Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar. By T. RICE HOLMES, Hon. Litt.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1907. Pp. xvi, 764, 16.)

MR. RICE HOLMES is well known as a military historian and the author of a valuable book on *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, to which this volume on Britain is a natural sequel. But the present work, which began as a study of Caesar's invasions, has expanded in the author's hands until it has become a survey of the whole history or pre-history of Britain down to the arrival of the Romans, and only the closing chapters of the completed book—about one-sixth of the body of the narrative—deal with the campaigns of Caesar. After a preliminary sketch of the history of archaeological science in Britain, Mr. Holmes discusses the Ice Age and the first appearance of palaeolithic man. Then he traces step by step the successive races—"long barrow" and "round barrow" men and the later invaders—which entered into the British population up to the Roman period. The physical type of each is described, its geographical distribution, its archaeological remains and the probable character of its civilization. For the earlier periods, of course, the inferences with regard to civilization are few and doubtful; but for the later age of Celtic occupation materials are abundant, though not always of certain interpretation. In dealing with these varied problems, which involve knowledge of palaeontology, anthropology, archaeology, and classical and Celtic linguistics, hardly any scholar is able to write steadily with expert knowledge; and yet the subject is of single interest and invites treatment by a single hand. The